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Dancing the "Waterloo Waltz": Commemorations of the Hundred Days—Parallels in British Social Dance and Song

Erica Buurman and Oskar Cox Jensen

A collection of 24 country dances "for the year 1815," published by Button and Whitaker of London, which includes a tune and the accompanying figures for each dance, evidently appeared on the market before the unexpected events of the Hundred Days.[1] Amongst the dances are "Lord Castlereagh's Waltz," the namesake of which was around the time of publication still actively engaged in representing Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna; and "The Duke of Wellington's Waltz," written in celebration of the national hero who had played a pivotal role in the events leading up to Napoleon's defeat and abdication in 1814. The collection also includes a dance called "Louis the XVIII," a retrospectively premature celebration of the return to power of the Bourbon monarchy.

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Several of the dances within Button and Whitaker's collection were therefore outdated within months of publication. At a public ball, the titles of dances were announced to the assembled guests by the master of ceremonies, who would direct couples to their places and instruct the band to play the tune once through before dancing commenced. It was customary for the honour of calling the dance to fall to the ladies, and at some balls numbered tickets would be issued at the start of the evening to determine the order of the calling.[2] Dances with commemorative titles effectively enabled the calling of that dance to function as a public tribute to a significant person or event. As the events of the Hundred Days unfolded, it would therefore have become somewhat incongruous for a guest at a ball to call the tune of "Louis the XVIII." Similarly, Castlereagh was no longer an obvious subject for glorification in the early months of 1815 with the Congress having lingered on for months and not yet having reached a satisfactory outcome by the time Castlereagh left Vienna to return home in February. Presumably the moment for "Lord Castlereagh's Waltz" had similarly passed. In the immediate wake of the Battle of Waterloo, however, numerous new commemorative dances—including a "Waltz composed in Honour of the grand Victory at Waterloo" by I. C. Mencke,[3] "The Waterloo or Belle Alliance Military Waltz for the Piano Forte" by Federigo Fiorillo,[4] and "The Favorite Waterloo Dance With Variations for the Piano Forte" by J. Durwollt—quickly appeared on the market that reflected a more up-to-date commentary on recent events.[5] The October 1815 edition of the fashionable magazine *La Belle Assemblée* also included a "Waterloo waltz" by a Miss Charlotte Reeve.[6] These commemorative dance publications clearly reflect a general spirit of patriotism and celebration at the close of the Napoleonic Wars as well as the opportunism of publishers in seizing on contemporary events to expand sales.

Not all commemorative dances appearing on the British sheet music market were as obviously patriotic as the various "Waterloo" dances, however. An Edinburgh collection of dance tunes from approximately 1817, for instance, includes a tune with the title "Buonaparte's Return to Paris from Elba".[7] As a mere reference to the event, with no further text to clarify any specific political sentiment, the title was open to several interpretations: a genuine celebration of Napoleon's escape from Elba; an ironic celebration of Napoleon's return to power, which in retrospect

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was known to be short-lived; or simply as an impassive reference to recent events. The tune itself provides no further clues, taking the form of a lively jig for a duet of flutes that could be used to accompany any generic country dance (see Fig. 1).

Similarly, the tune "St. Helena" (Fig. 2) (appearing in a London collection for 1819 [see Fig. 2]) may have had different political resonances at the time of publication than it would have had in the immediate aftermath of Waterloo[8]: By 1819, a growing body of popular song and poetry cast Napoleon as a fallen hero with his exile to St. Helena treated as a tragic subject. These sympathetic songs came to prominence as early as 1814, but they truly flourished across Britain only after his second exile. The most famous—such as "Isle of St. Helena," "Bonny Bunch of Roses," and "The Grand Conversation on Napoleon"—were sung into the twentieth century. Yet their tunes, slow and stately affairs all, can hardly be said to bear much relation to dance music: It would hardly seem proper to mourn Napoleon's fate with a jaunty, toe-tapping number. The only likely exception, "The Earsdon Sword-Dancer's Song," which refers to "the great Buonaparte, the hero that cracked the whole all," was not recorded until far later in the century.[9] In terms of its simple and lively C-major dance tune, "St. Helena" seems to suggest a positive message, thus implying a patriotic celebration of Napoleon's defeat and exile. When considered in the context of contemporary poetry and

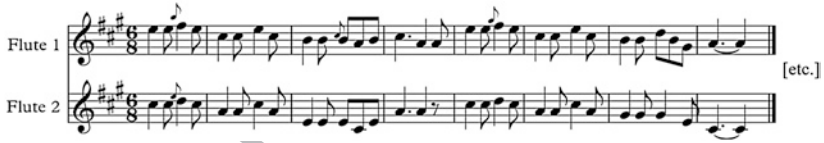

Fig. 1 Buonaparte's return to Paris from Elba, bars 1 through 8 (from *Macleod's Collection of Airs, Marches, Waltzes and Rondos, Carefully Arranged for Two German Flutes*, Edinburgh, c. 1817)

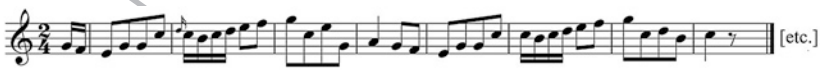

Fig. 2 St. Helena (or l'Alina), bars 1 through 8 (from *Button, Whitaker and Comp.'s Twenty Four Country Dances with Figures by Mr. Wilson for the year 1819*)

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song, however, where the subject of St. Helena is associated with sympathy for the fallen emperor, the intended meaning behind the tune's title becomes somewhat ambiguous. This suggests that commemorative dance tunes represented a separate and slightly different type of commentary on contemporary events from the type represented in verbal and literary culture.

Recent scholarship has recognized the significance of ephemeral and commemorative music as markers of broader political and social issues within a given society. Popular song is particularly amenable to this type of investigation because the lyrics can explicitly espouse political, nationalist, loyalist, or seditious sentiments. This potential to convey text was seized on during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic conflict by reformers and activists of every political hue but most notably by loyalist writers, who sought to win the hearts and minds of the British people in sermons and manifestos masquerading as entertainment. The relationship between lyric and performed song was not straightforward, however, and across both the two decades of conflict, as well as the breadth of the British Isles, a wide array of perspectives were expressed, contested, accepted, and rejected in songs ranging from rousing anthems to tragic ballads and by authors and audiences as diverse in origin and status as they were in opinion. Napoleon himself figured prominently in these songs, by turns celebrated, demonized, ridiculed, and lamented in accordance both with the course of events and the domestic political situation.[10]

Commemorative social dance music has not yet been subject to similar in-depth investigation. The lack of a text (with the exception of a title) obviously inhibits in-depth readings of underlying political sentiments such as those expressed in poems or songs with multiple verses. Furthermore, the non-representational nature of dance music prevents the kind of investigation that links the musical material with its broader historical and political context as is possible in the case of longer and more sophisticated commemorative musical works (attested by a large body of literature on political elements in the music of Beethoven, for instance).[11] Although some of the more substantial sets of dance music originating from the ballrooms of Vienna incorporate clear allusions to military music and other characteristic styles, most British dance tunes of the period bear no discernible relation to their title.[12] This essay investigates the role of commemorative dance titles within contemporary social-dance culture by considering the manner and extent to which

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those participating in the dance may have responded to its titular subject or theme. The political sentiments underpinning commemorative dance titles from the period of the Napoleonic Wars, and particularly the Hundred Days, will be investigated by exploring parallels in contemporary British song, the politics of which are more easily accessible through their lyrics (although even these can be ambiguous). Ultimately the essay seeks to investigate how commemorative dances contributed to shaping peoples' responses, evocations, and memories of war.

Songs and Dances of the Napoleonic Wars

As ephemeral musical forms, commemorative dance tunes and popular songs were accessible to wider British society and therefore offer a useful marker of popular sentiment about contemporary events. Although popular songs could express specific political sentiments and may have been addressed to a range of audiences, commemorative dances generally appeared in published collections that were aimed primarily at fashionable society. Annual dance collections typically indicated on the title page that the collection included dances "as danced at Court, Bath, Brighton & all Polite Assemblies," which were hardly the types of venue or occasion at which one would expect to encounter radical or subversive views.[13] Dancing master Thomas Wilson's guidelines for ballroom etiquette instruct that "No couple ought to refuse to stand up directly the Dance is called, as it shews great disrespect to the Lady who calls it."[14] There was clearly a tacit understanding that commemorative titles in annual country dance collections would be acceptable to everyone attending a public ball and therefore that the values reflected by such titles were the universal values of polite society.

As would be expected, important people and events of the Napoleonic Wars feature regularly in dance publications throughout the period of the wars. Table 1 outlines titles that explicitly refer to the wars from 28 annual dance collections dated between 1795 and 1815. Although these collections (many of which are now preserved in the British Library) constitute only a sample of the annual dance publications of the period, they nevertheless provide a reasonable overview of how such publications commented upon the wars. Each of the collections represented in Table 1 is explicitly marketed as containing dances for the named year and presumably appeared on the market toward the end of the previous year. The most up-to-date titles therefore comment on events of

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Table 1 Commemorations of the Napoleonic Wars in annual dance publications between 1795 and 1819

Publication	*Dance titles referring to people and events of the Napoleonic Wars*
Smart's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Country Dances, for the Year 1795 (London: Smart)	The capture of Calvi
Preston's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1799 (London: Preston)	Sprigs of Laurel for Admiral Nelson
Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1799 (London: Skillern)	Buonaparte's expedition
Preston's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1800 (London: Preston)	Lord Nelson's Hornpipe Bonaparte's defeat
W. Milhouse's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Favorite Country Dances for the Year 1801 (London: Milhouse)	The siege of Genoa
Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1803 Composed by Mr. Gray (London: Thompson)	Lord Nelson's whim
Preston's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1803 (London: Preston)	Blessings of peace Madm. Buonaparte's Waltz
Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1804 (London: Thompson)	Bonaparte in a Knapsack The Loyal volunteers Conquer or die Jump frogs jump A fig for Bonaparte 8000, Flat from France Joe the volunteer Who's afraid Loyalty and freedom
John Paine's Annual Collection of Twenty Four Country Dances for 1807 (London: Paine)	The Victory at Trafalgar The British volunteer
Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1808 (London: Goulding & Co.)	Lord Cathcart's reel Surrender of Copenhagen
W. M. Cahusac's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Favorite Country Dances for the Year 1809 (London: Cahusac)	Sir Arthur Wellesley's Dash—a Waltz The Ephemeral Emperor The Spanish patriots Boney in the dumps
Button and Whitaker's Twenty Four Country Dances with Figures for the Year 1810 (London: Button & Whitaker)	Walcheren Waltz

(continued)

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Table 1 (continued)

Publication	*Dance titles referring to people and events of the Napoleonic Wars*
Twenty Four Country Dances, for the Year 1810 (London: Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co.)	Lord Cathcart Basque roads The Island of Walcheren
Fentum's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Favorite Dances for the Year 1810 (London: Fentum)	Lord Wellington's Waltz Lord Cathcart Basque roads
Robinson's Twenty Four Fashionable Country Dances, for the Year 1811 (London: H. Robinson)	Bonapart's Nuptials Lord Wellington's Hornpipe
Wheatstone's Elegant and Fashionable Collection of 24 Country Dances […] for the Year 1812 (London: Wheatstone)	Lord Wellington Lord Wellington's Waltz
Twenty Four Country Dances, for the Year 1812 (London and Dublin: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.)	Lord Wellington The King of Rome
Button and Whitaker's Twenty Four Country Dances with Figures by Mr. Wilson for the Year 1813 (London: Button & Whitaker)	Marmont's retreat The Salamanca Castanets
W. M. Cahusac's Annual Collection of Twelve Favorite Country Dances, with Their Basses, for the Year 1813 (London: Cahusac)	The battle of Salamanca General Hill Marquis Wellington The French eagle
Le Sylphe, an Elegant Collection of Twenty Four Country Dances, the Figures by Mr. Wilson, for the Year 1813 (London: Button & Whitaker)	Marmont's mistake
C. Gerock's, Annual Collection of Twenty Four Favorite Country Dances, for the Year 1813 (London: Gerock)	Marmont's defeat
Twenty Four Country Dances, for the Year 1814 (London and Dublin: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.)	Prince Kutusoff Vittoria Saragossa
Button and Whitaker's Twenty Four Country Dances, with Figures by Mr. Wilson. For the Year 1814 (London: Button & Whitaker)	The Vittoria Waltz
Button, Whitaker, and Beadnell's Twenty Four Country Dances, with Figures by Mr. Wilson, for the Year 1815 (London: Button, Whitaker & Beadnell)	The Bourbon Hornpipe

(continued)

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Table 1 (continued)

Publication	*Dance titles referring to people and events of the Napoleonic Wars*
Campbell's Favorite Set of New Country Dances & Strathspeys Reels &c., for the Year 1815 (London: Campbell) *Le Sylphe, an Elegant Collection of Twenty Four Country Dances, the Figures by Mr. Wilson, for the Year 1815* (London: Button & Whitaker)	The Royal Visitors The emperor of Russia Genl. Prince Blucher's victory Lord Castlereagh's Waltz Lord Liverpool's Waltz The Duke of Wellington's Waltz Louis the XVIII
Augustus Voigt, *Twenty New Country Dances for the Piano Forte for the Year 1815* (London: Preston)	Duke Wellington's Welcome in London Prince Blucher's Waltz The great folks in London
Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Cos. Twenty-Four Country Dances, for the Year 1815 (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.)	Wellington in France The Isle of Elba Nap in the clouds Field Marshall Blucher

the previous year: Thus the Battle of Salamanca (1812) first appears in collections for 1813 ("The Salamanca Castanets" and "The Battle of Salamanca"), and the Battle of Vittoria (1813) is first commemorated in collections for 1814 ("Vittoria" and "The Vittoria Waltz"). Collections for 1815 include numerous titles celebrating the general peace of 1814 and the visit of the allied sovereigns to London in June 1814 (such as "The Bourbon Hornpipe," "Genl. Blucher's Victory," and "The Great Folks in London"). All of these collections were published in London, although their title pages frequently indicate that the tunes had also been performed at fashionable assemblies in places such as Bath and Brighton. The titles contained within these collections therefore offer a commentary on the progress of the Napoleonic Wars from the perspective of London-centred fashionable society.

The commemorative titles represented in Table 1 predictably celebrate British victories and military heroes more than any other aspects of the wars. The Duke of Wellington is commemorated most frequently, appearing a total of 10 times: first in 1809 ("Sir Arthur Wellesley's Dash—A Waltz") and continuing to appear in publications from 1810 to 1813 as events in the Peninsular War unfolded, and appearing in three of the five represented collections of 1815 (printed at a time when Britain

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was celebrating general peace). Wellington was well known in fashionable society not only for his military achievements, but also as a prominent figure on the London scene and himself a regular attendee at balls. Although commemorative "Wellington" dances celebrated Britain's progress in the wars, they were particularly fitting due to Wellington's association with the social dancing of the fashionable elite. In contrast, while he was a junior general fighting an inauspicious campaign and tainted by the scandalous Convention of Cintra, he received little attention in song until the battle of Salamanca (1812) made him a household name across Britain. In addition, although his popularity peaked with Waterloo, it faded just as swiftly: Almost no new songs mention him positively after 1815 despite a range of formal commemorations of his victories in subsequent years.[15]

Commemorative dance titles did however mirror a number of London-centred trends in popular song in terms of commentary on the wars, particularly regarding depictions of Napoleon. The image of Napoleon as the "familiar Corsican Ogre, perpetrator of atrocities, emasculated as infantile or literally demonised" first emerged in British popular song as a response to the renewal of hostilities with France in 1803 after the collapse of the Peace of Amiens.[16] Before this, British songs had included admiring portrayals of Napoleon, where he featured "as a foil to the hero of the hour, Horatio Nelson," thus serving further to glorify Nelson's naval victories.[17] A shift in attitude in 1803 can be also observed in a new flood of loyalist volunteer songs, stemming primarily from the London press, which consciously supported the volunteer movement that responded to the new threat of invasion.[18] The two developments were necessarily related, the attacks on Napoleon themselves a response to his encampment at Boulogne, thus leading to fears of simultaneous invasion and insurrection. The songwriters' response, however, was both overwhelming and uncoordinated and beset by an essential contradiction: The danger of Napoleon had to be taken seriously, but morale simultaneously had to be boosted to face it, meaning that thousands of Britons were earnestly exhorted to unite in arms against a phantom, pantomimic menace.[19] Editors of dance collections, of course, faced no such rhetorical difficulties because they needed only to provide titles to their tunes; yet, because there was no necessity that they insist on an affinity to current affairs, their allusions must have seemed to them to have some purchase politically as well as commercially as was the case for ballad writers.

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A similar trend in depictions of Napoleon in annual dance publications can be observed in the titles represented in Table 1. Two publications of 1799 included tunes with the titles "Buonaparte's Expedition" and "Buonaparte's Defeat," which appeared to be relatively neutral references to Napoleon's Mediterranean Campaign of 1798 and his defeat at the Battle of the Nile. From late 1803, however, there was a marked shift in tone. This is most striking in *Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1804*, in which Napoleon was now irreverently portrayed as a diminutive figure of ridicule in "Bonaparte in a Knapsack" and "A Fig for Bonaparte." The title "8000, Flat from France" is probably a satirical reference to the flat-bottomed boats with which the French were supposedly planning to invade Britain, here made to sound somewhat ridiculous. Thompson's collection simultaneously celebrates the volunteer movement with "The Loyal Volunteers" and "Joe the Volunteer" and consciously celebrates British bravery and patriotism with titles such as "Who's Afraid" and "Loyalty and Freedom." The obviously loyalist sentiments in Thompson's collection of 1804 were echoed in later collections with titles such as "The British Volunteer" (appearing in Paine's collection for 1807) and "The Ephemeral Emperor" (in Cahusac's collection for 1809). Irreverent nicknames for Napoleon—familiar from contemporary poetry, song, and caricature—also appear in collections for 1809 ("Boney in the Dumps") and 1815 ("Nap in the Clouds"). The variant spellings of Bonaparte, particularly the Italian "Buonaparte" (appearing in collections for 1799 and 1803), may have carried particular connotations in print contexts: in France, for instance, the Italian spelling was a useful way for anti-Napoleon propaganda to highlight his identity as a Corsican "foreigner." In printed tune books, however, the spelling of Bonaparte probably carried less significance, especially in the context of a public ball where a dance's printed title would be visible only to the musicians (although of course the master of ceremonies could choose to adopt a pointedly French or Italian pronunciation when announcing a Napoleon dance). Overall, the shift in tone in commentary on the wars in dance titles from Thompson's 1804 collection onward, with a new emphasis on celebrating British heroism and on lampooning Napoleon, mirrors the response of the loyalist London printers who churned out patriotic propaganda songs from 1803 in response to the return to a state of war with France.

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A further parallel with contemporary song exists in the treatment of Napoleon's domestic life. The title "Madm. Buonaparte's Waltz" from Preston's collection for 1803 would presumably have been taken as a genuine tribute to Napoleon's wife Josephine, given that the collection appeared at a time of peace and that it also included a tune titled "The Blessings of Peace." The tune "Bonaparte's Nuptials" in Robinson's 1811 collection, however, appeared in print at a time when writers, songwriters, and caricaturists were using Napoleon's divorce from Josephine and marriage to Marie Louise as a subject of satire and a means of ridiculing the French emperor.[20] Leading printers of London songs exulted in the Emperor's supposed marital difficulties: The song "Boney Wants a Baby" took particular delight in imagining him as unlucky in love: henpecked, deluded, and sexually inadequate.[21] Thus, as a dance title, "Bonaparte's Nuptials" would have been understood as a satirical commentary on Napoleon's domestic life rather than a respectful tribute to the new empress. Similarly, "The King of Rome," which appeared in Goulding, d'Almaine, Potter & Co.'s collection for 1812, would also have been taken as a satirical or ironic tribute to Napoleon's infant son; this is clearly evident in the British Library's copy of this publication, on which three handwritten exclamation marks have been added after the tune's title.[22] In social-dance culture, the mocking of Napoleon that was familiar from literary and visual culture had the added element of collective participation. The act of calling "The King of Rome" at a ball would invite everyone present not only to enjoy the irony but also to contribute to its expression by joining in the dance.

Although the above-discussed dance titles can be seen to reflect broader trends in popular responses toward the war with France, the references to the 1807 Battle of Copenhagen ("Surrender of Copenhagen" [Goulding & Co.'s collection for 1808]) and the 1809 Walcheren campaign ("Walcheren Waltz" and "The Island of Walcheren" [both in collections for 1810]) are more surprising. Although the Copenhagen campaign was a British victory, which effectively prevented the Danish fleet from allying with the French, the British bombardment of Copenhagen resulted in more than 2000 civilian deaths and met with moral condemnation from many quarters.[23] Walcheren was an even more unlikely subject for celebration. Having been intended as a campaign to destroy the French naval fleet at Flushing, thereby consolidating Austria's recent victory over the French at the Battle of Aspern–Essling

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in May 1809, the fall of Flushing to British forces in August ultimately had little impact on the French who had, in the interim, defeated the Austrians at the Battle of Wagram. In addition, during the protracted siege of Walcheren more than 4000 British soldiers died after contracting malaria, and the fiasco prompted the resignation of Castlereagh as Secretary of State for War.[24]

The unsavoury aspects of the Copenhagen and Walcheren incidents presumably hindered their celebration in literary culture and popular song because it would be somewhat incongruous to comment on these events in any great detail without making reference to the unfortunate collateral damage they caused. No popular songs on either of these disasters appear to have been written, and the only poems that were published in the opposition press are highly critical of the events they describe.[25] In commemorative dances, however, the events could be alluded to in acknowledgement of Britain's involvement in the wars without the need to confront the finer details. The references to Copenhagen and Walcheren in annual dance publications in fact suggest a conscious effort to co-opt these incidents within a broader rhetoric of victory and patriotism despite the fact that they were already controversial by the time the eponymous dance tunes appeared in print. The calling of tunes such as "The Surrender of Copenhagen" and the "Walcheren Waltz" at public balls would help to consolidate the association of these events with acts of collective celebration, thus implicitly placing them on a par with the subjects of other commemorative dance titles such as "Lord Wellington's Waltz" or "The Battle of Salamanca."

Overall, the commentary on the Napoleonic Wars in annual dance collections produced in London largely echoes that of the patriotic songs produced by the London press, thus presenting an obviously loyalist and patriotic perspective. In the context of public balls, commemorative dances offered opportunities for guests to display their patriotism by calling a tune that obviously celebrated military heroes or recent victories. In contrast with popular song, however, social-dance culture enabled celebrations of military events that did not obviously warrant national celebration, thus bringing events such as the Copenhagen and Walcheren campaigns into a broader culture of festivity and collective participation. The naming of dances after military figures and events had the effect of casting the war in a positive light and of bringing the celebration of Britain's progress in the wars into an everyday cultural pastime.

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Songs and Dances of Waterloo

As outlined previously, a number of individual "Waterloo" dances appeared on the British sheet music market in the immediate aftermath of the event. The rapid appearance of these dances suggests a collective mood of celebration, and indeed a similar spate of celebratory dances had appeared on the Viennese music market during the Congress of Vienna only a few months before. Visitors to Vienna could buy copies of the music that had featured at the lavish balls, for which the Congress became renowned, and could also buy commemorative dances such as *Wellington in Vienna: Six Triumphal Marches for Piano-Forte* and numerous dances named after the famously dance-loving Tsar of Russia. Brian E. Vick cites these publications as part of a broader commemorative culture in which Viennese poets, composers, painters, and publishers jostled "to claim a share of the celebratory market."[26] The "Waterloo" dances appearing on the London market in 1815 clearly demonstrate a similar celebratory moment being seized upon by composers and publishers of dance music.

In annual dance collections, of course, commemorations of the events of the Hundred Days first appeared in collections for the year 1816, by which time stability had been restored and Napoleon already exiled to St. Helena. Table 2 outlines references to the Napoleonic Wars in eight annual dance collections from the years after Napoleon's final defeat between 1816 and 1819. Unsurprisingly, the majority of commemorative titles in these collections refer to the allied victory at Waterloo. Because they form part of an unbroken line of Waterloo commemorations in dance publications since 1815, their political message is unmistakeably patriotic. Two also allude to Napoleon's exile to St. Helena ("St. Helena Hornpipe" [1817] and "St. Helena" [1819]). Although in isolation these "St. Helena" dances could be read as being sympathetic to Napoleon's fate (as discussed previously), in the context of the other titles represented in annual dance collections it is clear that these titles belong to a culture of end-of-war celebration and of British victory.

As with the commemorative dances that had appeared during the period of the wars, the medium of simple dance tunes allowed the celebration of Waterloo to be relatively unreflective, offering no opportunity to dwell on the violence or loss of life at the battle itself. In contemporary song culture, by contrast, even the most patriotic "Waterloo" songs

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Table 2 Commemorations of the Hundred Days in annual dance publications between 1816 and 1819

Publication	*Dance titles referring to people and events of the Napoleonic Wars*
C. Gerock's Annual Collection of Twenty Four Favorite Country Dances, for the Year 1816 (London: Gerock)	La Belle Alliance Wellington Hat
Charles Wheatstone, *The Union, an Elegant Collection of Twenty-four Country Dances for the year 1817* (London: Wheatstone)	Waterloo
Le Sylphe, an Elegant Collection of Twenty Four Country Dances, the Figures by Mr. Wilson, for the Year 1817 (London: Button, Whitaker & Co.)	Waterloo bridge
For the Year, 1817, Monro's Annual Selection of Country Dances, Waltzes, &c. (London: Monro)	Waterloo bridge
Annual Collection of Twenty Four Favorite Country Dances, for the Year 1817 (London: Gerock)	St. Helena Hornpipe
Astor & Horwood's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1818 (London: Astor & Harwood)	Wellington's triumph La Belle Alliance La Wellington Waterloo bridge
Button, Whitaker and Comp.'s Twenty Four Country Dances with Figures by Mr. Wilson for the Year 1819 (London: Button & Whitaker)	St. Helena (or L'Alina) The Waterloo (or Caractacus)
Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances, with Figures by Mr. Wilson, for the Year 1819 (London: Thompson)	The Battle of Waterloo La Belle Alliance Wellington's triumph Marshal Blucher

tended to incorporate mournful reflection on the fallen soldiers and their widows and orphans alongside celebration of victory.[27] J. Thompson's "Boney's Total Defeat, and Wellington Triumphant," which was set to the proud old drinking tune, "Roast Beef of Old England," nonetheless made room for the "thousands" that were "slain," admitting that "The slaughter was dreadful, I tell it with pain."[28] At the same time, in a growing body of song from the industrial north of England in particular, Waterloo increasingly featured in songs that dwelt on the social injustice

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and economic depression of the post-war years.[29] "Waterloo Fashions" was published in Manchester and North Shields, where unemployment was suddenly rife, as well as London; one typical verse, well-pitched to resonate with its working-class market, runs:

> Our Waterloo weavers are grown very thin,
> And their Waterloo faces are all bone and skin.
> And their Waterloo bellies it runs in my mind
> Have not much in them but Waterloo wind.[30]

No such tragic or embittered undertones can be read in the simple commemorative dance titles represented in Table 2: Here "Waterloo" continues to be treated straightforwardly as a subject for celebration.

Although the commemorative dances appearing in annual publications in the years after the end of the wars demonstrate a clear fixation on Waterloo, a somewhat different picture of post-1815 commemorations of the Napoleonic Wars emerges when more substantial dance collections are considered. Table 3 outlines commemorative titles in five such collections, four of which were published between 1817 and 1830 and the fifth in a manuscript collection. Unlike annual collections, the collections in Table 3 are not billed as dances for one particular year but rather as larger, general compendiums of dance tunes. Many of the dances contained within these collections were already widely known: Wilson's *Companion to the Ballroom* contains old tunes such as "The Irish Washerwoman" and "Bobbing Joan," a variant of the latter tune (as "Bobbing Joe") also appearing in John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* of 1651.[31] The more recent tunes in these compendiums may have already been in circulation at public dances at the time of publication, although some may also have been original compositions by the editor. The commemorations of the Napoleonic Wars in these collections, as viewed in Table 3, offer a long view of the wars rather than commemorating only the most recent events.

Two of the five collections stem from the London press, and thus their perspective on the wars presumably resonates with that of the annual collections discussed previously (and indeed Thomas Wilson, author of *A Companion to the Ball Room*, provided the dance figures for many of Button and Whitaker's annual collections outlined in Tables 1 and 2). Different perspectives might be expected from the two Edinburgh publications (Table 3) as well as the "Robert Harrison"

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Table 3 Commemorations of the Napoleonic Wars in larger dance collections of the early nineteenth century

Dance collection	*Dance titles referring to people and events of the Napoleonic Wars*
Thomas Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 3rd edition (London: D. Mackay, c. 1817)	Ça Ira The downfall of Paris The Austerlitz Waltz Bonaparte's March Duke of Wellington's Waltz
The Flute Player's Pocket Companion. A Select Collection of Dances, Waltzes, Quadrilles & Airs with Variations Composed & Arranged as Duets for the German Flute by George Forrester, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: J. Sutherland, c. 1817)	
MacLeod's Collection of Airs, Marches, Waltzes and Rondos, Carefully Arranged for Two German Flutes, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: J. Sutherland, c. 1817)	Buonaparte's Grand Parade March Blucher's Waltz Buonaparte's return to Paris from Elba Hero of Salamanca Leipsic Waltz Salamanca Waltz
Alexander's New Scrap Book Containing One Thousand Favorite Airs for the Flute, Violin or Flageolet (London: J. Alexander, c. 1830)	Ah Ça I'ra [*sic*] Bonaparte's March Waterloo March
"Robert Harrison" manuscript (nineteenth-century manuscript collection of more than 150 dance tunes)[40]	The Waterloo dance La Belle Alliance Waltz St. Helena Waterloo The downfall of Paris The battle of the Nile The Austrian's retreat Gen. Bonaparte's March Lord Nelson's Hornpipe

manuscript collection (of unknown origin). Nevertheless, in all five of these collections, Waterloo features far less than in post-1815 annual collections; in fact, Waterloo is notably absent from Wilson's, Forrester's and MacLeod's collections, all of which stem from approximately 1817. This may be partly due to the fact that any "Waterloo" dances then in circulation were too new to have entered the standard repertoire of dance tunes. Yet this explanation does not sufficiently account for the presence of "Buonaparte's Return to Paris from Elba," the lively jig shown in Fig. 1, which appears in MacLeod's Edinburgh publication and

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which similarly could not have been in circulation for long. Furthermore, it seems striking that MacLeod's collection includes this reference to the commencement of the Hundred Days with Napoleon's return to France but no explicit references to Napoleon's subsequent defeat.

It is difficult to read an ironic or satirical undertone in the title of "Buonaparte's Return to Paris from Elba." The title does not have the openly mocking tone of titles such as "Boney in the Dumps." In part, this might reflect the editor's own outlook: Edinburgh was a more radical city than London, and at least three notable members of the Macleod clan were famed for their reformist or pro-French sympathies.[32] Furthermore, at the time of publication of MacLeod's collection (1817), there was no obvious contemporaneous trend for the satirising of Napoleon's escape from Elba that clearly leads the title to be taken as ironic; commemorative titles in annual dance collections from the post-Waterloo period, as observed in Table 2, have a patriotic, celebratory tone rather than a tone of mockery and satire. Yet "Buonaparte's Return" does not clearly point to a celebration of Napoleon either, particularly because it appears alongside other titles that celebrate earlier notable victories against the French emperor, namely, the "Salamanca Waltz" and the "Leipsic Waltz" (the latter of which presumably refers to the 1813 Battle of Leipzig, which led to Napoleon's abdication in 1814). Instead, the tone of the title "Buonaparte's Return" resembles the more neutral references to Napoleon observed in dances from the early years of the wars (see Table 1). The other reference to Napoleon in MacLeod's collection, "Buonaparte's Grand Parade March," similarly lacks a clear sense of mockery or irony as do similar titles represented in the other collections represented in Table 3 ("Bonaparte's March" and "Gen. Bonaparte's March"). The overriding impression in the references to the wars in the collections listed in Table 3 is that of impassive commentary on historical events rather than of explicitly loyalist or patriotic sentiment. This is suggested particularly by the inclusion of tunes that refer to the events of the French Revolution, long since overshadowed by the Napoleonic Wars: namely, "Ça ira" (the emblematic Revolutionary song) in the Wilson and Alexander collections and "The Downfall of Paris" in the Wilson collection and the Harrison manuscript.

The reference to the 1805 Battle of Austerlitz in the "Austerlitz Waltz" of Wilson's collection, however, does apparently suggest a pro-Napoleon agenda. The tune itself is one of the simplest in the whole collection at only 16-bars long and spanning a range of less than an octave (Fig. 3). AQ2

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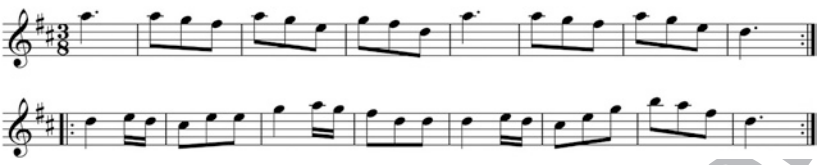

Fig. 3 Austerlitz Waltz (from Thomas Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, c. 1817)

The simplicity of the tune, combined with the fact that the British army did not participate at Austerlitz, leaves no room for a tragic interpretation of the title. Instead, the title's reference to one of Napoleon's most famous victories unmistakeably appears to celebrate the event. It is also striking that Wilson's collection of more than 400 songs contains no obvious references to major British victories of the Napoleonic Wars, including Waterloo. Yet Wilson's *Companion to the Ballroom* is clearly pitched within the mainstream culture of social dance and concludes with a lengthy essay on "The Etiquette of the Ballroom"; a manual of this type would hardly be expected to convey radical political sentiments. Thus, the presence of the "Austerlitz Waltz" in *Companion to the Ball Room* appears to be highly ambiguous. A likely interpretation is that the tune originated in France, where Austerlitz would have been an obvious subject for commemoration in the years after 1805, and entered the British ballroom repertoire after Austerlitz had been eclipsed by subsequent events and was no longer an especially relevant symbol of pro-Napoleon sentiment. French country dances (or *contredanses*) published during the Napoleonic Wars similarly bore patriotic titles such as "La Bonaparte" and "L'Austerlitz,"[33] and other French tunes were absorbed into the English country dance repertoire ("Ça ira" being an obvious example). The "Austerlitz Waltz" in Wilson's collection of approximately 1817 supports the impression that, after Waterloo, commemorative titles from earlier stages of the wars no longer held their original significance as overt expressions of patriotism.

Overall, the commemorative titles outlined in Table 3 represent a different perspective on the Napoleonic Wars than the commemorative titles that appeared in annual collections throughout the period of the wars. Whereas annual collections consciously commemorated recent events and largely echoed the patriotic sentiments of the loyalist songs

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stemming from the London press, larger compendiums of social dance tunes offered a more dispassionate commentary on the wars from a safe historical distance. Thus, the numerous Waterloo dances that appeared in annual dance publications after the end of the wars demonstrate an ephemeral, overtly loyalist and patriotic response to Waterloo rather than a perspective that had a lasting impact in social-dance culture. The patriotism underpinning the various Waterloo dances also marks an essential difference between the responses of social-dance culture and popular song to the events of the Hundred Days. Whereas even the most patriotic Waterloo songs invariably incorporated sober reflection on the suffering associated with the event (both in terms of the battle itself and the subsequent economic depression), dance tunes allowed for no such reflection; Waterloo dances therefore offered an unnuanced and uncomplicated mode of celebrating the close of the Napoleonic Wars.

Songs and Dances as Modes of Commemoration

It is possible to distinguish two different modes of commemoration of the Hundred Days in the commemorative social dances discussed earlier. The first was of patriotic celebration with Waterloo dominating as a subject representing victory and celebration (without being tempered by the reflections on the tragic aspects of the event that appeared in contemporary poetry and song). The second was of a more impassive commentary, in which references to the Hundred Days and Waterloo were absorbed into a narrative of the events of the Napoleonic Wars in their entirety. Although the second type of commemoration did not clearly embody the explicit patriotism of the various "Waterloo" commemorations, it was not unpatriotic either. As a form of culture in which wider polite society participated, social dance was unsuitable as a medium for expressing complex or controversial political sentiments; however, it could provide a setting for acknowledging the wider political and military context, thus bringing these themes into the centre of the social and cultural life of the nation.

In view of these two modes of commemoration, it is worth reflecting on commemorative social dance in the context of wider cultural ephemera. The inclusive nature of social dance clearly contributed to its suitability for expressions of public celebration. Both elite and wider polite society engaged in social dancing, which contributed to the sense of community and public spirit conveyed by commemorative dances.

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Furthermore, social dancing was an inherently participatory activity, making it a particularly suitable medium for collective celebration. At a public assembly where the "Waterloo Waltz" was danced, for instance, all people present could actively participate in the act of celebration—indeed, even the foot-tapping observer is in some sense implicated.

Social dance was not universally held to be an appropriate medium for commemorations of Waterloo, however, as demonstrated in an 1817 poem by Robert Shorter with the title "On Seeing in a List of New Music, *The Waterloo Waltz*,"[34] The poem expresses outrage that an event of such magnitude and at which there was such loss of life should be commemorated in such a trivial medium. Although the poem first appeared in *Sherwin's Political Register*, it subsequently appeared in *The Morning Post* with a modified title: "On Seeing in a List of New Music, '*The Waterloo Waltz*,' by a Lady."[35] The waltz in question may have been the aforementioned "Waterloo Waltz" by Charlotte Reeve that appeared in *La Belle Assemblée* in October 1815 as part of the wider culture of commemorative Waterloo dances published in the immediate aftermath of the event. In any case, the explicit mention of a "lady" adds a further layer to the poet's outrage, thus highlighting the disparity between the feminine, domestic sphere and the male domain of the battlefield. As observed in other commemorative dances of the Napoleonic period, however, social dances routinely paid tribute to military events and personages without necessitating engagement with the associated violence and loss of life. It was this unreflective aspect of commemorative social dance that evidently troubled the author of the 1817 poem on "The Waterloo Waltz."

Yet the lack of critical reflection in commemorative dances may, conversely, contribute to the appropriateness of the medium for capturing the longer-term societal memory of an event. Paul Connerton has explored the idea of bodily practices (including formal ritual as well as the bodily aspects of cultural behaviour and etiquette) as agents of social memory, arguing that such practices "provide a particularly effective system of mnemonics."[36] Additionally, bodily practices "contain a measure of insurance again the process of cumulative questioning entailed in all discursive practices."[37] Thus, although a song about Waterloo must address the fallen soldiers and the terror of the battlefield, so that even the most glib expressions of triumphalism—such as the "Battle of Waterloo" published by London printer Thomas Batchelar—found room to mention "pity's tear" and "hapless widows,"[38] a dance about Waterloo (as a non-discursive practice) need not address these details.

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Social dance, as a bodily activity, allows participants to preserve the memory of an event without having to engage with it critically.

It is this latter form of commemoration—of unquestioning memory of an event—that perhaps marks the clearest distinction between the responses to the Hundred Days in social dance compared with those in popular song. In social-dance publications, Waterloo continued to be commemorated even in the years of political and economic turmoil that followed the end of the wars, thus suggesting that the medium of social dance was in some way immune to the political counter-narratives that existed in song. It is worth emphasising that Shorter's protest at the "Waterloo Waltz," mentioned previously, took the form of a poem published in a radical newspaper: He could neither affect, nor express himself via, the culture of dance itself. The treatment of Wellington is a case in point: Between the late 1810s and 1840, he was repeatedly attacked in numerous songs for both his politics and, retrospectively, the hard line he took as a general; however, as the titular hero of numerous dances, he remained impervious to criticism.[39] Even ambiguous titles—such as the "Austerlitz Waltz" and "Buonaparte's Return to Paris from Elba"—could be incorporated into dance collections alongside celebrations of Wellington and Waterloo without danger of being understood as conveying subversive sentiments.

It is natural that publishers of annual dance collections would seize the opportunity to name dances after significant military figures and events during a period of war. Not only was this a convenient way to make dances appear up to date and relevant, it also allowed London's loyalist press to bring celebrations of military victories into mainstream social life. The medium of social dance even allowed printers a certain degree of control over the way Britain's progress in the wars entered wider social consciousness. A dancer may choose to call "Lord Wellington's Triumph" because of a liking for its tune or its figures, but the formal announcement of the dance by the master of ceremonies and the collective participation in the dance might resultantly heighten the association of Wellington with public celebration. The immediate significance of the subject commemorated in a dance's title would of course diminish over the course of time, so that the dancing of a Waterloo waltz years after the event might not conjure up any conscious associations of the events of 1815. The continued dancing of a Waterloo dance would nevertheless ensure that the subject of its title lived on in everyday social life and, consequently, that it endured in longer-term social memory.

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Notes

1. *Le Sylphe. An Elegant Collection of Twenty Four Country Dances the Figures by Mr. Wilson, for the Year 1815, Adapted for the German Flute, Flageolet or Oboe* (London, 1815). AQ3
2. Thomas Wilson, "The Etiquette of the Ball Room," in *A Companion to the Ball Room* (3rd ed., London, c. 1817), 238–246.
3. I. C. Mencke, *Waltz Composed in Honour of the Grand Victory at Waterloo, for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Flute, or Violin & Violoncello* (ad lib) (London, c. 1815).
4. Federigo Fiorillo, *The Waterloo or Belle Alliance Military Waltz for the Piano Forte* (London, c. 1815).
5. J. Durwollt, *The Favorite Waterloo Dance with Variations for the Piano Forte* (London and Dublin, c. 1815).
6. Charlotte Reeve, "The Waterloo Waltz, Written Expressly for 'La Belle Assemblée,' No. 76," *La Belle Assemblée, or Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine*, 76 (1815).
7. *MacLeod's Collection of Airs, Marches, Waltzes and Rondos, Carefully Arranged for Two German Flutes* (Edinburgh, c. 1817).
8. *Button, Whitaker and Comp.'s Twenty Four Country Dances with Figures by Mr. Wilson for the Year 1819* (London, 1819)
9. See Oskar Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song, 1797–1822* (Basingstoke, 2015), 124–133.
10. Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*.
11. See, for instance, Nicholas Cook, "The Other Beethoven: Heroism, The Canon, and the Works of 1813–14," *19th-Century Music*, 27 (2003): 3–24; Stephen C. Rumph, *Beethoven After Napoleon: Political Romanticism in the Late Works* (Berkeley and London, 2004); Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge, 2013).
12. For instance, a number of Viennese orchestral dance sets from around the turn of the nineteenth century include so-called Turkish music, which is characterized by noisy percussion instruments (cymbals, triangle, and bass drum) and consciously alluding to Ottoman Turkish military music. Beethoven's Twelve German Dances, WoO 8 (1795) and Hummel's Twelve Waltzes and Coda, S104 (1817) both include Turkish episodes.
13. *Button and Whitaker's Twelve Elegant New Dances for the Year 1810 Arranged for the Harp or Piano Forte, with Correct Figures as Danced at Court, Bath, Brighton & All Polite Assemblies* (London, 1810).
14. Wilson, "Etiquette of the Ball Room," 241.
15. Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, 74–75, 86, 124. Some of the prominent Wellington monuments that appeared within his lifetime include the Wellington Monument on Park Lane, London (1822), the Wellington

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Arch now on Hyde Park Corner (1825–1827), and the equestrian statues in London (1844), Glasgow (1844), and Edinburgh (1848–1852).

16. Ibid., 51.
17. Ibid., 42.
18. Ibid., 66–73.
19. Ibid., 51–53.
20. Ibid., 79–83.
21. Cambridge University Library, Madden Collection, 5: 363, (London, 1810). AQ4
22. British Library, Music Collections, a.6.(6.)
23. See John Bew, *Castlereagh: Enlightenment, War and Tyranny* (London, 2011), 225–226.
24. Ibid., 249–256.
25. Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, 75.
26. Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics After Napoleon* (Cambridge, MA, 2014), 85–96.
27. See Oskar Cox Jensen, "First as Farce, then as Tragedy: Waterloo in British Song," *Studies in Romanticism* (forthcoming).
28. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Broadside Ballads Collection, Harding B 12(6).
29. Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, 124–127, 155–161.
30. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Broadside Ballads Collection: Johnson Ballads 3019; 2806 c. 17(451); Harding B 25(2005).
31. John Playford, *The English Dancing Master: Or, Plaine and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, With the Tune to Each Dance* (London, 1651).
32. To whit: Sir William, General Norman, and the latter's close relative, Colonel Norman Macleod. See, respectively, Emma Vincent Macleod, "Bannatyne, Sir William Macleod, Lord Bannatyne (1744–1833)"; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1311 (last accessed 29 September 2016); J. D. Brims, "MacLeod, Norman, of MacLeod (1754–1801)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64087 (last accessed 29 September 2016); and H. W. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution* (Glasgow, 1912), 96, 110.
33. Herbert Lager and Hilde Seidl, *Kontratanz in Wien* (Vienna, 1983), 14.
34. *Sherwin's Political Register* 1 (1817): 303–344 (cited in Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, 121 and 188). For further discussion of this poem, see Cox Jensen, "Waterloo in British Song."
35. *The Morning Chronicle*, 22 April 1817.
36. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989), 102.
37. Ibid.
38. Cambridge University Library, Madden Collection, 5: 615.
39. Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, 124–125.
40. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London, QM 18473. Available at http://www.vwml.org/browse/browse-collections-dance-tune-books/browse-harrison.

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